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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

TRIUMPH OF THE ARISTOCRATS.—

TREATMENT OF NAPOLEON.—The triumph of the aristocrats is not greater than we had reason to expect; for reason bade us expect it to be boundless. We shall hereafter have to talk to them about the gains and the losses of different nations by that grand event, the *French Revolution*; but, though I wish to get on to a very important topic, the designs with regard to America, which are now of the first consequence to the world, I must stop to say a word or two upon the business of those, who so lately were the loudest in praising Napoleon, and who are now the most loud amongst his *calumniators*.—We are told of the joy, the plaudits, attending the arrival of MONSIEUR at Paris. Were they greater or more sincere than those, with which Napoleon was received at Berlin, at Vienna, or at Rome?—I very much question the fact. It is the voice of the base and weak and thoughtless at the dictation, or under the influence of the strong. We are told, that the Allied Sovereigns and troops took no share in the entry of MONSIEUR; that they were resolved, that it should be purely a French procession; an act of the *French people*! To be sure, they did not put their hand to the thing. They only formed a ring round, while it was going on. But this is all foolish trash. We know, all the world knows, that it is force; that it is a great, overwhelming military force; that it is the power, the sheer military power, of all the States of Europe combined through their fear of one man; all the world knows, that it is this force, and that it is this force alone which has produced the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbons. The triumph is, therefore, the triumph of the strongest; the triumph of him who has most bayonets on his side. There is no moral victory. The people of France had an opportunity of showing their attachment to the Bourbons long before; but, they waited till the allies were in possession of their capital. But, indeed, how monstrous is it to talk of their attachment to those, the head of

whom they had condemned to death, and the rest of whom they had (before NAPOLEON was heard of) proscribed, as they thought, for ever! This is a pretty way of showing attachment to a Royal Family.—We now see the same, the very same writers who justified, nay, who urged with all their might, the putting down of the Bourbons, exerting their skill to render their restoration palatable. *Cretelle* is mentioned amongst those who have uttered the most bitter things against NAPOLEON. It was he, who lauded his character the most; who praised his *humanity* to the skies; and who, in his history of the hero's exploits, gave a cut, representing him in the pest-house in Africa, discovering a trait of humanity and courage such as is not upon record, relating to any other man.—It is not time yet to take a view of the result of the French revolution; of its gains and its losses. When it is, we shall bring into view the putting down of the inquisition as well as the destruction of the Bastille. We shall, in a few months, be able to make the comparison of the previous state and the present state, of France. As to the new constitution, as it is called, we can yet know nothing of it. It is binding, or not binding, as the king shall please. But, at any rate, much must have been gained; because it will be impossible to bring things to their ancient state. The very materials are gone, and it cannot be done. I am not one of those, who think, that the sovereigns of Europe will now, taking a lesson of France, be more mild in their governments than they formerly were: I think the contrary: I do not think that they will make any concessions to liberty; but in France, to restore all the old abuses will be absolutely impossible. The people of France will have gained many things; any one of which was worth all the sacrifices they have made. To get rid of any one of their great curses was worth 22 years of war and all the lives that have been lost.—The treatment of NAPOLEON is what, indeed, he had to expect if ever he fell into the power of those Sovereigns, whom he had at his feet, and whom he had re-

placed on their thrones. It is such, too, as the *republicans* of France must rejoice to see him endure. They put him at the head of a *republic*; they placed an army of *republicans* in his hands; they sent him forth to pull down thrones. He betrayed his trust; he upheld thrones: he raised himself to a throne: he allied himself by marriage with a family, whom they regarded as their greatest enemy. He sold the liberties of his country, and, as far as he could, of Europe, for a wife and a dynasty. His offences are, therefore, against *republicans*, and not against royalists, of whom he has been the sole guardian and protector. His fall was not wished for, as yet, by me; because I thought, that he might, by continuing some years longer in power, do good in some respects. As being at war with my own country, I could not, of course, wish him success; but, as we had made one treaty of *friendship* with him, I saw no reason why we should not make another with him. But, the *republicans* in France must rejoice at his fall. It must have been much more galling to see him triumph, than to see the *Bourbons* return. He became, not only a king, but the friend of all kings; the *supporter* of kings, and by the *means* of that very power, which had been placed in his hands for the extermination of royalty and aristocracy. This is the light, in which he is viewed by the *republicans* of France, who, if they are now to submit to a government that they dislike, have, at any rate, the satisfaction to reflect, that the man, who has reduced them to the necessity of so doing, has been not severely punished; that, if they are not free, he, at any rate, does not enjoy the fruit of his treason against freedom. — FONTANES'S speech on the invasion of France, that speech, in which the allied sovereigns were reproached, not with their designs against the *liberties* of France, but with having, in their proclamation, given it to be understood, that they regarded the *wishes* of the *people* of France as something; that insolent speech, in which the people were told, that they ought to *thank* the government for *repressing their audacity*; that speech, the author of which, as I remarked at the time, ought to have been thrown headlong down the deepest well in Paris; that speech *alone* was an act to deprive NAPOLEON of all compassion on the part of the friends of freedom, notwithstanding all the good he had done in other respects. He seems, from the date of his marriage

into the house of Austria, to have lost all notion of respect for the *people* of France; and to have carried his dread of republicanism to a length hardly conceivable. It is, therefore, perfectly natural in the *republicans* of France to rejoice at his fall; but, the aristocrats are very ungrateful towards him: he has been their political saviour and redeemer: he has saved them from total destruction: he has restored them and their titles and their privileges in France, and has given them security, for some time, at least, in all other countries. If he had been and continued a republican; if he had faithfully obeyed the will of those who put power into his hands; there would not, in all human probability, have been a king's day existing on the continent of Europe. But, he, so far from acting as the *republicans* of France wished him, not only spared the kingly race, but actually married amongst them, and took the lead amongst the aristocrats in abusing the *people*, and treating them with contempt; therefore, he is now justly treated, as the *republicans* of France must think. He would be an *Emperor*, would he! He must marry into the ancient House of Austria, must he, and be papa of a *dignity of kings*! He, who received all his power from *republicans*! These were the causes of the loss of his power; these were the causes of his fall; and, therefore, that fall must have given infinite satisfaction to the *republicans* of France, who will have to reflect with pride on the contrast exhibited in the invasion of France when under Napoleon, and when under the assembly and convention: when under an Emperor, and when under a republican government. They will always have to say, that all Europe combined was nothing against France animated by the voice of *liberty*; but, that France, under an Emperor and King, with a gagged press, yielded to the first invasion. — Napoleon's character, as developed at the close of the drama, we cannot yet judge of; because, in truth, we know nothing about his behaviour. All that we hear comes through a channel hostile to him. He could not fight without an army any more than another king. If he had dared appeal to the *people*; if he had still had the cup of liberty upon his head, in place of an ill-gotten crown, he might have been able to make a last stand; but, like all other despots, bereft of his bayonets, he was powerless as a child. — It has been stated, that his Empress (we

always ought to call her by that title), and the King of Rome, are to be separated from him, and that the former is to go to a convent. They would do well to make a monk of him. One monk discovered gunpowder, and, I am sure, NAPOLEON has, in this respect, shown a true zeal for the recovery of his predecessor. I still think, however, that he will be divorced. The House of Austria will hardly endure to continue him as a relation; and, I dare say, that the *Holy Father*, will have little objection to relieve her from the dishonour of such an alliance. Perhaps NAPOLEON's death is the most likely thing of all. It would remove numerous difficulties. We shall hear, I dare say, that he has put an end to his existence; and then there is an end of him and his dynasty for ever. —We hear great boastings of the prowess of the allied powers; but, do what they will, they never can get rid of the fact of their having been *all defeated* by the armies of France; which armies, and under NAPOLEON too, have entered *all* their capitals. They have all been beaten, over and over again by France, and France alone. Their countries have all been subdued by Frenchmen; and, until the ruler of France married amongst the ancient sovereigns, they were all together, unable to resist her prowess. —These are facts that never can be gotten rid of. France has placed a king in Spain, in Holland, in Naples, in Italy. She has beaten all that she could reach; and this will be recorded by history in spite of every thing that can now be done or said. —That the fall of NAPOLEON will be followed by that of *all* his family and relations, there can be little doubt: and, indeed, the allied sovereigns would be greatly to blame, upon their own principles, or upon any principles of sound policy, to suffer any of them to remain in power. It was wise in them, if they were able, wholly to extinguish NAPOLEON himself; for they must have been very certain, that, with the power of France in his hands, he would have annoyed them, and put them in peril, first or last. The same policy will dictate to them the putting down of all the branches of his family; but, I must confess, that I did not expect so soon to have heard a hint thrown out against his ROYAL HIGHNESS, the CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN; that worthy personage, of whom our ministers used to speak so much in praise; and who, be it remembered, was amongst the very first to take our money for the purposes of carrying on the war,

which has ended in the putting down of Napoleon. The *Times*, of the 19th instant observes: "Among other news from the North, we learn, that the Danish Contingent is advancing, and that the Crown Prince of SWEDEN has reached Brussels. *His Royal Highness's activity is not at least premature.* Surely, he has judged ill, after the laurels which he so honourably reaped at Leipsic, to allow any *minor considerations to prevent his appearing equally prominent* in the last great scenes which consummated what was so well begun."

—This is only a *beginning*, I imagine: "His Royal Highness" will, probably, soon hear, that these gentry have a little more to say. They do not think, apparently, that the cause needs his Royal Highness's assistance; and "His Royal Highness" will, I am afraid, have to be contented with the high eulogiums that he has already received; for, it appears to me, that he is not likely to receive any more from that quarter. Whither he is to look for praises, in future, I cannot, I am sure, guess for the life of me; but, I will venture to say, that His Royal Highness is a personage not likely to give rise to any very violently interested feelings amongst any dozen of people on the habitable globe.

RECOLONIZATION OF THE AMERICAN STATES.—It was easy to believe, that the enemies of freedom would, upon this occasion, turn their baleful eyes towards the United States of America, and endeavour to stimulate our government, who, let us hope, however, has too much sense to be so worked on, to wage a war for the *destruction of liberty* in the western world. But, I, who fully expected to see this, am really astounded at the speed and the boldness, with which the project has been brought forward in some of our public prints, especially the *Times*, which, in plain terms, urges a war against the United States upon the *same principles* that the close of the war has been carried on against NAPOLEON; and, indeed, which aims at the subjugation, re-occupation, and *re-colonization of that country*. —Before I proceed any further, I shall insert the article, which has called forth these observations. —"It is understood, that *part of our army in France will be immediately transferred to America*, to finish the war there with the *same glory* as in Europe, and to place the peace on a foundation equally firm and lasting. Now, that the tyrant BUONAPARTE has been consigned to in-

famy, there is no public feeling in this country stronger than that of indignation against the Americans. That a republic boasting of its freedom should have stooped to become the tool of that monster's ambition; that it should have attempted to plunge the parricidal weapon into the heart of that country from whence its own origin was derived; that it should have chosen the precise moment when it fancied that Russia was overwhelmed, to attempt to consummate the ruin of Britain—all this is conduct so black, so loathsome, so hateful, that it naturally stirs up the indignation that we have described. Nevertheless there is in this case the same popular error, that there was, not long since, when France was identified in the minds of most men, with the name of BUONAPARTE. The *American Government is in point of fact, as much a tyranny* (though we are far from saying it is so horrible a one) as was that of BUONAPARTE: and as we firmly urged the principle of *No Peace with BUONAPARTE*; so to be consistent with ourselves, we must in like manner maintain the doctrine of **NO PEACE WITH JAMES MADISON**. The reasons for this are twofold, as respecting this country, and as respecting America. A very little reflection will render them sufficiently manifest. —In the first place, hatred of England is the fundamental point in the policy of Mr. MADISON. He is the ostensible organ of a party, all whose thoughts, feelings, and sentiments are guided by this master key. Some of the statesmen of this school have not blushed to assert in full Senate, 'that the world ought to rejoice, if Britain were sunk in the sea; if, where there are now men, and wealth, and laws, and liberty, there were no more than a sandbank for the sea-monsters to fatten on, a space for the storms of the ocean to mingle in conflict.' Such is the deep rooted antipathy which these wicked men have to the land of their forefathers! With such men Mr. MADISON acts; and he himself before the accession of his party to power, expressly laid it down as a principle (on the discussion of Mr. JAY'S negotiation), 'that no treaty should be made with the enemy of France.' His love for the latter country, however, was but an adjunct of the hatred which he entertained towards us: and he hated us for the very same reason, that BUONAPARTE did—because we stand in the way of any state that aspires at universal dominion; for, young as is the transatlantic Republic, it has already indulged

in something more than dreams of the most unmeasured ambition. We need not here detail the long history of fraud and falsehood by which he at length succeeded in deluding his countrymen into war. Suffice it to say, he had two objects in that war:—first, to sap the foundations of our maritime greatness, by denying the allegiance of our sailors; and, secondly, to seize on our colonial possessions on the main land of America, leaving it to a future occasion to lay hands on our insular settlements in the West Indies. Perhaps, when he finds himself unexpectedly deprived of the buckler under which he aimed these stabs at our vital existence—the mighty NAPOLEON, the Protector in petto of the Columbian Confederacy—he may be willing to draw in his horns, and sneak away from his audacious undertakings. But shall we have the extreme folly to let him off thus? When we have wrested the dagger from the bravo's hand, shall we quietly return it to him to put up in its sheath? No. No. Mr. MADISON himself, in his very last public speech, has furnished us with a most apposite rule of conduct, which he cannot blame us for adopting, since he avowedly follows it himself—namely, that we should '*not only chastise the Savages into present peace, but make a lasting impression on their fears.*'—Hitherto we have considered the Americans as identified with Mr. MADISON'S government; but is this the fact? So much the reverse, that it has been openly proposed in some of the States to treat for peace with Great Britain separately; and they would act wisely and justifiably in adopting this measure. The Eastern States, the most moral, the most cultivated, the most intelligent, the best in every respect, are at this instant reduced to a *complete vassalage by the Southern States*, under the forms of a constitution, which the prevailing faction violates at pleasure. 'The small States, says FISHER AMES, are now in vassalage: they obey the nod of Virginia. The Constitution sleeps with WASHINGTON, having no mourners but the virtuous, and no monument but history. Our vote and influence (those of the Eastern States) avail no more than that of the Isle of Man in the politics of Great Britain.' If this was true before the annexation of Louisiana, how much more strikingly so now, that that addition has quite broken down all balance between the States, and poured an irresistible stream of corrupt influence into the channel of the

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Executive! What is very remarkable is, that the preponderance of the Southern States is chiefly owing to the slaves they contain! The number of votes which each State has in the national government, is determined by the whole population.—Hence, though the slave has no political existence, he gives a weight to his master over a free man in a different State: and by another curious but not uncommon paradox in human nature, the slave owner there is generally a furious democrat, and the democrat has hitherto been the most servile of the tyrant's adherents. Clear, therefore, is it, that the free Constitution of the United States is either incompetent in itself to afford an equal protection to the wisest and best part of the Union; or else that Constitution has been violated and overthrown by the faction of which Mr. MADISON is the ostensible head; and, in either case, the oppressed States would act justly to themselves, *to separate their interests from those of the incapable and treacherous individual who has dragged them reluctantly into a war no less inglorious than unjust.* When we speak of these and the like crimes as perpetrated by Mr. MADISON individually, we only mean to use his name in the common way, in which persons in eminent stations are generally spoken of. He stands at the head of the list, not but that Mr. GALLATIN may be more artful, Mr. CLAY more furious, Mr. JEFFERSON more malignant, and so on; and besides, there is a ferocious banditti belonging to his party, of whom, perhaps, he himself stands in awe, and who, as they consist of Irish traitors, and fugitive bankrupts and swindlers, from all parts of the United Kingdom, may easily be conceived to exceed even the native Americans in rancour against Great Britain: but the more shameless and abandoned are the individuals who compose this faction, the greater odium must be cast on Mr. MADISON himself, in the eyes of the moral and reflecting part of the American population. It is a great mistake to suppose that the United States are wholly deficient in characters of this latter description. They have had many wise and many eloquent men, whose words yet live in the hearts and in the meditations of their countrymen. Mr. WALSH, the accomplished editor of the American Review, has attained a high literary reputation even in this country; and though the late FISHER AMES (the BURKE of the western hemisphere), is not so much known in this country, he de-

servedly enjoys a much greater popularity in America. These, and many more such writers as these, have kept alive the fire of *genuine British liberty* in the United States. Whilst, on the other hand, the miserable blunders of the DEARBORN'S, and HOPKINS'S, and WILKINSON'S, and HAMPTON'S, and all the long list of defeated generals, have thrown a ridicule on that invasion of Canada which was one of the great baits of the war. Lastly comes the fall of Mr. MADISON's grand patron attended with the execration and scorn of all Europe. Can we doubt, *that a vigorous effort on our part will annihilate the power of a faction alike hostile to Britain, and fatal to America? Is not the time propitious for winning at least the sounder and better part of the Americans to an union of interests with the country from whence they sprung?* —It is impossible to read this article, without being convinced, that there are men, who seriously entertain the wish to see America recolonized; who wish to see our king restored in America, as the Bourbons have been in France; for, Mr. MADISON is the chosen President of the Union; he does nothing of himself; it is the President, the Congress, and the People, all acting in concert. Yet, he is to be put down; no peace is to be made with him *any more than with NAPOLEON*; the government of the States is a tyranny; the constitution is violate, or is inefficient; its existence is inimical to lasting peace; the time is propitious for *winning the sounder part of the States, at least, to an union of interests with the country whence they sprang.* These are sentiments and declarations to begin with; but, in fact, they go the whole length of recolonization; and that is the project now on foot amongst the foes of freedom, who seem to be resolved to prove to us, that those friends of liberty in America, who did *not* wish for the extinguishment of NAPOLEON, despot as he was, were not without sound reasons for their sentiments. They saw, that, though he had betrayed the republican cause, if he were put down there would be men ready to urge projects of the description of that of which we are now speaking. This language towards the United States was never made use of; sentiments like these were never hazarded, while NAPOLEON was in power; but, the moment he is down, these men turn their hostile eyes towards America, the only republic left upon the face of the earth! — Our quarrel with America ceases with the

war. There being peace in Europe, the quarrel is at an end without any discussions. But this writer passes over all the subject of quarrel. The American *President* and *Government* are *bad*. That is now, according to him, to be the ground of the war; and, we are to have *no peace* with them. I will pass over the impudent falsehoods, which this writer utters as to the conduct of Mr. Madison and the nature and effects of the American Government; and come at once to what is most interesting to us now; namely, *FIRST*, whether a war for the recovery of the American States as colonies would be *popular in England*; and *SECOND*, whether it would be *likely to succeed*.—As to the first, I have no hesitation in expressing my belief, that it would be, for a while at least, the *most popular* war in which England was ever engaged, the reasons for which opinion I will now state.—In the *first* place, peace, real and lasting peace, and a vast reduction of our forces, would be total ruin to a great number of persons and families. All these will wish for ever, no matter with whom, or upon what grounds. They will be for the war for the same reason that undertakers are for deaths, and without being, any more than these, chargeable with any malicious motive.—The farmers will be for war, upon much about the same principles; they being of opinion, no matter whether erroneously or not, that war makes corn dear.—Here are *two* very numerous classes of persons. A *third* is the land-owners in *general*, who believe, that peace will lower their rents, without lowering their taxes.—The ship-owners and builders fear America, who can build and sail much *cheaper* than they can, and who, if left at quiet, would cover the sea with their ships.—The great manufacturers ever will be for a war, likely, as they think, to tear up, root and branch, those establishments which are not only supplying America herself, but must, in a few years, especially with the emigration of artizans to America, become our rival, and supplant us, all over the world. Besides, if America were to be recovered, we should, they think, have a monopoly of supplying her.—Even the stock-holders, though they might, generally wish for peace, might probably be persuaded, that the recolonization of America would afford the means of *lessening the national debt*; that America might be made to bear a share of the debt; that the lands there might be sold for our

account; and, in short, that this might be made an immense source of income, and an infallible security to the paper-system.—Of politicians there will be two descriptions for the war: one will see in America a dangerous maritime rival; a maritime power which grows, like her own Indian corn, almost visibly to the eye. They will mix this apprehension with the feelings of mortification and revenge arising from the naval victories of America, which are not to be washed away by the fall of NAPOLEON, nor of fifty Napoleons at his heels. These are honourable-minded men, loving their country; not able to endure the idea of her *ever*, at any time, ceasing to be mistress of the ocean, and so terrified at that idea as to lose sight, in the pursuit of a *preventive* remedy, all notion of justice, humanity and freedom. Another description of politicians, animated solely by their *hatred* of whatever gives liberty to man, will see in America, what, indeed, they have always seen, and for which they have always hated her, an asylum for the oppressed; a dwelling for real liberty; an example of a people, enjoying the height of prosperity and the greatest safety of person and property, without any hereditary titles, without any army, and almost without taxes; a country, where the *law* knows nothing about religion or its ministers; where every man pursues his own notions in religious matters; where there are no sinecures, no pensions, no grants of public money to individuals; where the people at large choose their representatives in the legislature, their presidents, governors, and sheriffs, where bribery and corruption are unknown, and where the putting of a criminal to death is nearly as rare as an eclipse of the Sun or Moon. This description of politicians look at America as *Satan* is said to have eyed our first parents in the Garden of Eden; not with feelings of envy, but with those of deadly malice. They would exterminate the people and burn up the country. The example of such a people “sears the eye balls.” They will tell us, that, while that example exists, nothing is done; nothing is secured; nothing is safe: they will endeavour to terrify the government and the nation by describing the emigrations which will take place from Europe; the numbers of artizans and of people of enterprize that will crowd to America, adding to her population, extending her knowledge, increasing her means of all sorts, and enabling her, in a short

time, to call her last description greatly most of this case interest efforts. I found such a that the will not It is for the cou not to s by an o ness of With whether Americ think confess above a in the an arm the be pointed the wo with i would in pea suffice army ing an port. France to do and I of the in the Engla ricans I hav waste beat them some woul of sit have succo fall what of t silen will min resis pose leas

time, to spread far and wide what they call her *disorganizing principles*.—This last description of politicians have the press greatly in their hands; the press is the most powerful instrument; and it will, in this case, have prejudice, supposed private interest, passion, and all in favour of its efforts.—These are the reasons, on which I found my opinion as to the *popularity* of such a war; but, yet, I hope and trust, that the Ministers and the Prince Regent will not be carried away by such notions. It is for them to consider, what is best for the country, and permanently best; and not to suffer their judgment to be warped by an out-cry, proceeding from the selfishness of some and the rage of others.—With regard to the *SECOND* question: whether a war for the recolonization of America would be *likely to succeed*? I think it would not. I must, however, confess, that I agree with the author of the above article, that “the *time is propitious*” in the highest degree. Not only have we an army ready organized; composed of the best stuff; best commanded; best appointed and provided; best disciplined, in the world, but we *do not know what to do with it* in the way of employment, and it would be, for a year, at least, as expensive in peace as in war. We have more than a sufficiency of *ships of war* to carry this army across the Atlantic, without crowding and without the aid of a single transport. In Europe we have nothing to fear. France will, for some years, have enough to do at home. It is the same in Spain and Holland; and, besides, what are any of them to do *without fleets*, and where, in the whole world is there a fleet but in England?—Now, then, what are the Americans to do against this army and this fleet? I have no doubt, that our army would waste the sea-coast; that it would, at first, beat the Americans wherever they met them; that it would, if it chose, demolish some towns and occupy others; that it would make the Congress change its place of sitting; but, unless the States *divided*, I have no idea, that such a war would finally succeed, and it appears to me, that the fall of Napoleon, especially coupled with what will be deemed the ruinous language of the *Times* news-paper, will infallibly silence the voice of faction in America, and will make the whole of the people of one mind as to the necessity of providing for resistance.—The *Times* seems to suppose, that the people of America, or, at least, a part of them, and especially in the

Eastern States, will heartily participate in our joy at the fall of NAPOLEON and the restoration of the Bourbons. Will they not, on the contrary, be terribly *alarmed*? And will not those, who have cried out against the government for aiding NAPOLEON, as they called it, begin to fear the consequences of his fall, when the project of the *Times* reaches their ears, and when they find that there are writers in England, who already openly propose to make war upon them for the *express purpose of subverting their government* and effecting in America what has been effected in France, namely a *restoration*? Mr. AMES is complimented by this writer as the BURKE of America, and I dare say, that Mr. AMES would have liked very well to get a pension of three thousand pounds a year; but, in that respect he was not so lucky as his great prototype. Mr. AMES was a poor drivelling hankerer after aristocracy. His party wished to establish a sort of petty *noblesse*: they wanted to make some honorary distinctions. The people took the alarm; put them out of power, and they have ever since been endeavouring to tear out the vitals of their country. The fall of NAPOLEON, however, will leave them wholly without support from the people, when that people hears that the first consequence of that fall is a proposition, in the English public prints, to treat THEIR government as that of NAPOLEON has been treated, and upon precisely the same principle, namely, that it is a *despotism*.—As I said before, I trust, that our government is too wise to be led to the adoption of any such project; but, if they were, what could our friends in America say? They have been asserting, for years past, that *ours* was the cause of freedom against a despot. What will they say if we make war upon them upon the same principle, and for the same end, that we have been making war against NAPOLEON? By Mr. Jefferson and his party it was always concluded, that there was no danger to be apprehended from France, under any circumstances; and that if France, if the new order of things was subdued in France, America would be in great danger. Therefore they always wished, and they acted as if they wished, that France should not be defeated in the result of the war. It is in our power, by making peace with them at once, and waving all dispute about differences that cannot arise during peace, to show them that their fears were groundless; but will

they not, when they see the project of the *Times* news-paper, hold it up to the teeth of their political adversaries, and say, "look here! Here is the first fruits of the fall of the man whose destruction you told us we ought to assist in producing; and to do any thing in the upholding of whom you represented as impolitic and base." This will be their language to those adversaries, who will hang their heads with shame, unless the author of the *Times* can make a shift, some how or other, to convey to them a small portion of his impudence.—I think it is clear, then, that the people of America would, in case such a war were to be made upon them, be united in a spirit of resistance; and, if they were, I have no idea, that ten such armies as all that we could send, well-disciplined and brave as our army is, would finally succeed in subduing and recolonizing the country. We might make inroads from Canada; we might demolish towns upon the coast; we might destroy manufactories; we might lay waste the corn-fields, and burn many of the mills; we might destroy all the shipping; we might tear the country a good deal to pieces; but, I do not believe that we should, even by adding *another eight hundred millions to our debt*, secure one single colony in the territory now called the United States of America.—Yet, it is really true, that the enemies of Freedom, while America remains what she now is, have gained nothing. NAPOLEON has been put down; but, then he was an enemy of freedom. He was not owned by any friend of freedom. France was not a republic, nor had she a *representative* government under him. The war against him was in the *name*, at least, of the *people*. The example, so hateful to the *enemies* of liberty, of a people happy and free, without distinction of ranks, without an established church, without hereditary power or privilege of any sort, with a press now perfectly free, with legislators and chief-magistrates periodically elected by the people at large; this example still exists, and this country is yet open to all the world; and, to put down this example would, I am of opinion, cost us more blood and more money than it has cost us to put down NAPOLEON. The enemies of freedom promised us *peace, durable peace*, if we got rid of NAPOLEON; but, scarcely is he down, when they propose to us a *new war*, more, if possible, expensive in its nature, and, probably, longer in its duration. To be sure, America holds out an

alluring bait: it presents employment for Governors of Provinces, Commanders, Post-masters, Attorneys and Solicitors-General, Secretaries, Councillors of State, Taxing People, Pay-masters, Judges, and a long and nameless list of hangers-on; but, again, I say, I hope and trust, that the Prince Regent and his Ministers will have too much wisdom to listen to any such mad and wicked project. It is impossible, however, for the people of America not to feel some alarm, and not to make preparations accordingly. This language of our news-papers is quite enough to excite apprehension; and for this, amongst the rest, we have to curse a *base and degenerate press*.

NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

Whenever I find the *Courier* and other hireling prints *praising* any public measure; whenever I read an eulogium in these servile journals on any legislative act of our own, or another government, I immediately suspect something wrong; I am then convinced that some design is in contemplation, to abridge the liberties of the people; that there is a snake in the grass which, if not strangled in time, will sooner or later strangle those by whose sufferance it exists, and is permitted to become a dangerous and formidable enemy. It is true, that whether the new Constitution, which France is about to receive, be acted upon or not, the situation of the French people will be better than it was *before* the Revolution, and perhaps better, for some time at least, than our own condition under our present "glorious and happy establishment." But if this is all that the inhabitants of France are to gain by the change; if, after the oceans of blood which have been shed, during a revolutionary struggle of more than twenty years to obtain a recognition of their just rights, under a free and representative government; they should now revert to that system which put it in the power of their ancient monarchs, to render them the dupes and slaves of their caprice, or of that of an insolent minister, or a haughty mistress: if, I say, the French nation is to be placed in circumstances, in which there is a probability, or even a *chance* of the former tyranny and despotism of the Capets being restored, it appears to me that the return of the Bourbons, instead of being a *blessing* to France, will be the greatest of all the curses with which she has been visited. Better, a thousand times better, would she have

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been, had she continued under the *military* sway of Napoleon; for, in the former case, she will receive nothing in return for the sacrifice of her rights; while, in the latter, even although no other benefit attended it, her passion for warlike fame; her thirst for military glory, would have continued to be gratified to the fullest extent. In the language of the *Courier*, the new Constitution about to be established in France, ought to be a source of gratulation to this nation.—“It is,” says that journal “a proud tribute indeed to this country, that, after trying all modes, France acknowledges *at last* that the only real security for public and private happiness, is to be found in fashioning her Constitutional Charter as closely as possible after the model of the British”—Indeed!—It is the first time I ever heard of a people *acknowledging* the blessings of a Constitution, which had been forced upon them at the *point of the bayonet*. If even the Senate had been disposed to get rid of the Code Napoleon, and to adopt the English Code, as the *only* real security for public and private happiness, why did they not declare themselves *before* the sword was pointed to their breasts; *before* two hundred thousand muskets environed the hall where they were assembled to legislate for the French people?—The Senate must have known the actual strength of Napoleon; they must have been aware, that his resources would not long enable him to continue the contest. If, therefore, they were in reality attached to the Bourbons, as, it is now said, they are *to a man*, why were they so long in avowing their sentiments? How can they excuse themselves, or where can any man find an excuse for the conduct of men who *hated* Napoleon, who knew their own strength, who were perfectly acquainted with public feeling, and yet, who not only permitted Napoleon, in these circumstances, to sacrifice the best blood of France in a useless struggle, but, in truth, employed their own power and importance in the State, to second, according to the new received opinion, his vain and foolish projects?—It is idle to talk of Napoleon having caused this immense flow of blood, if the Senate, knowing his weakness stood by and did nothing to prevent it.—But if, on the other hand, Bonaparte's Senate was *attached* to his dynasty; if the people entertained the same views; and if, jointly, they *preferred* a continuance of his reign to the restoration of the Bourbons, (a position which has not yet, as far as appears to me,

been fully negatived) how then can it be said, that a Constitution, framed under the immediate influence of, if not actually dictated by, foreign powers, who are in possession of the capital, and whose authority is backed by a formidable army:—How, I ask, can this be considered the *spontaneous* act of the French nation? How can it be said, that a code of laws, adopted in such degrading circumstances, is, in any sense of the word, correspondent “to the wishes, the habits, and the customs,” of a people so civilized as that of France? We are told that the Emperor of Russia is an *enlightened* politician; that his *great* mind will not allow him to interrupt the people's choice. I am willing to believe all this, and even more of our magnanimous ally; but may not his Imperial ear be polluted, like that of many other great Sovereigns, by some vile parasite, who, obtaining access to him by base and servile means, may employ the advantage he has thus obtained, to impose on Alexander's unsuspecting mind, and to counteract, by his machinations, the benevolent intentions of his sovereign? Why is it that that liberty which this great Monarch is now conferring upon France, has not been granted to any portion of his own subjects? Why is it that this “Liberator of Nations;” this “Champion of the People's rights,” has not hitherto thought it expedient to acquire these admirable titles in his own extensive dominions?—I shall be told that the state of society there, does not justify this. At least then let us see that something has been done towards the *improvement* of that society; let us be told of the numerous schools and other seminaries which have been established in Russia, for the cultivation of the mind; let us learn that it has been the chief study and pride of his Imperial Majesty, to adapt the habits and manners of his people to that liberty which, we are assured, is so congenial with his own sentiments, and to establish which, in Germany and in France, he has made so many sacrifices. When I am well informed of all this; when I find that the Emperor Alexander has made arrangements in his own empire for the introduction of universal freedom, I shall then, but not till then, subscribe to the opinion, which has now become so general, that France is about to receive, at the hands of her invaders and conquerors, a Constitution “the best calculated of any other to secure public and private happiness.”—Much as has been, and is still said, about the extraordinary

patriotism of the Allied Sovereigns; of their regard for the *rights* of the people; and of their determination to subvert the thrones of all *despots*; I confess I do not feel myself disposed to place implicit reliance in these novel professions. I do not mean to say that any of these Sovereigns have professed an attachment to liberty, in which they are not sincere. What I doubt is, that they have at all uttered the many fine patriotic sentiments which have been ascribed to them. At one period of the French revolution, we find Louis the XVI. in a speech which he read to the National Assembly, declaring that for ten years previous, he had desired that the Provincial Assemblies "should be elected by the free suffrages of their fellow citizens;" and in the same speech he was made to say:—"Continue then your labours, without any passion but the love of your country; let the welfare of the people, and the security of civil liberty be the first objects of your attention." Now it is well known, that this speech of the unfortunate Louis, was written by his minister Necker; who, it is more than probable, did not consult his master about one word of it, and merely put in his mouth a language which was called for, at the moment, by the peculiar circumstances in which the King was placed. That his personal safety, and the rights of the throne, were not the *secondary* objects with Louis himself, and the welfare of the people, and the security of civil liberty the *first*, is sufficiently clear from the events which followed shortly after he had been advised to utter these sentiments. At least, we find the French people accusing him of insincerity, and leading him to the scaffold because, as they asserted, "he had betrayed the liberties of the people which he had not only promised, but had *sworn* to protect." We cannot, therefore, be too careful in our discrimination of the language as to liberty, and the rights of the people, said to have been used by the Allied Sovereigns.—They may, and I trust, they are the sincere friends of freedom; but if, from mistaking what they say on this subject, we should be too forward in ascribing to the Emperor Alexander, or to any one of them, views and intentions which never had a place in their minds, we would be doing these Sovereigns an injustice, should we afterwards blame them for not carrying these supposed views and intentions into effect. It would certainly be the safest way not to believe too much on this head;

to wait the course of events; and to suspend our opinion as to popular feeling in France, until it shall seem meet to the Allies to withdraw their immense legions from that country. The people will then have room to breathe, to think, perhaps to speak, and to compare notes together; they will then, with the sword no longer suspended over their heads, and the bayonet removed from their throats, have no apprehension of personal danger, which, at times, has a surprising effect in determining public opinion; they will then be able to examine, with coolness and deliberation, the merits of that "wonderful effort of human genius," the British Constitution, which, they are told, is alone capable of giving "real security" and of insuring "public and private happiness." They will be able, on this examination, to contrast it with the *Code Napoleon* under which they have lived so long; and if, after such examination and comparison, they should come to the resolution of giving the former a fair trial, they may, at the end of a few years, be able to say which of them deserves the preference—whether the military government of Napoleon, by which the national vanity has been so much flattered, and the Empire so greatly extended; or the commercial and peaceable reign of a Louis, with a circumscribed territory. Until some such occurrences take place and some such effects as these are produced, I do not see how the Constitution about to be established in France, can be said to be the constitution of the people; unless, indeed, the Senate, under the direction of their Imperial Majesties, the Sovereign of Prussia and the Crown Prince of Sweden, who has at last made his appearance at Paris, give orders, as Bonaparte did, when he assumed the purple, to take the voice of the French people respecting the proposed alterations. This, in truth, would be recognising "the sovereignty of the people" and giving a practical proof, that the allied powers were, in sincerity, as much devoted to the cause of the people as they are represented to be. But this is an event which, I am afraid, is not to be looked for at present. Even what, in other circumstances, might be held worthy of imitation—the example of Napoleon—must, in this instance, prove fatal to the measure, even supposing it had been in contemplation; for it is not the least prominent feature in this counter-revolution, that the provisional government, as was done when Louis XVI. was dethroned, has enjoined

the destruction of every thing that has a tendency to keep alive in the public mind, the recollection of what France had previously been. The republicans, or jacobins, as they were afterwards called, extinguished every vestige of royalty; less cannot now be expected of the partizans of the Bourbons, towards a man whom they always regarded as a tyrant and an usurper of the throne of their legitimate kings.—As to what is said by the *Courier*, about the French acknowledging “at last” that the British Constitution was the best in the world, if the writer intended by this that it was the *first* time any Frenchman had proposed our constitution as a model, he was either ignorant of the history of the revolution, or willingly misrepresented the fact; for, during the deliberations of the National Assembly, in the year 1789, respecting that very code which Louis XVI. had sworn to support, there was frequent allusion to the English constitution, and repeated attempts made to obtain its introduction into France. When the question was under discussion, whether the legislative power should be formed into one or two chambers? it was stated, by Lally, that three powers were necessary to form a balance. “England (said he) affords an example of this since the national act in 1688: no where are liberty, property, and political equality more respected. The second chamber should have a separate interest, otherwise it would be animated by the same spirit. The legislative body should be composed of the representatives of the nation, a Senate, and a King. The first chamber will be more calm in its deliberations; the second will correct its errors; and the King reciprocally keep both the Senate and Representative Body in proper bounds by means of each other.”—To this plausible theory, it was answered, by Villeneuve;—“We hear of nothing but boastings of the English government; but its enthusiastic admirers *conceal* from you its defects. You are perpetually told of the wonderful machinery of its two chambers, and three powers; but under this general eulogium, they *hide* from you the faults of the House of Peers, the manner of composing it, the monstrous *inequality* of the popular representation, the absolute veto of the Monarch, and other errors seen and lamented by every good Englishman.”—This answer, even at this day, will be regarded as sufficient to overthrow the vain boasting, and fulsome panegyric of those who are unceasingly praising the British

Constitution, and officiously endeavouring to thrust it upon the notice of all other nations as a model of *perfection*; as the *only* political system calculated to secure public happiness and prosperity.—But I have been told by some, that I am somewhat capricious; that *when all the world* are *congratulating* the French nation on the great blessing of having been delivered from a military despotism, I, being but a solitary individual, ought to give way to the general impulse; ought to join in the fervent exclamations, *piously* uttered by the *Courier*, of “God save the King—God prosper the reign of Louis the XVIII, and of the Prince Regent,”—Others again have demanded, what will satisfy me? where can I find a constitution so well adapted to the condition of man, as that which is now offered to the French people?—With regard to my ideas being at variance with those of the great mass of mankind, I shall only say, that there is no novelty in this, for the opinions of the *many* have hitherto seldom corresponded with my opinions, and, I am afraid, this will always be the case. As to the constitution which I consider best calculated to promote human happiness, I have no hesitation in stating, that the one promulgated by the National Convention of France, on the 22d. of August 1795, appears to me entitled to the preference over all other constitutions that I have yet seen. It was not the work of a day; nor were those who framed it under the impulse of fear, while deliberating on its important articles. Although the transfer of two thirds of the convention into the legislative body, without first obtaining the consent of the people, and which afterwards led to much serious abuse, was a feature in this constitution, which no real friend of liberty can approve; still, it was founded upon principles so consonant with sound reason, so conformable to the present improved state of society, and so well adapted to the wants, customs, and habits of an enlightened people, that I never turn my attention to it but with feelings of admiration and regret:—admiration of the splendid talents displayed in its formation; and regret that it should have so soon owed its subversion to the crimes of any set of men to whom France had unsuspectingly given in charge so sacred a trust.—The Constitution of 1795, however, though it gave way, in the first instance, to an unjustifiable ambition, was afterwards greatly defaced by the establishment of a military government, and has

finally received its death blow from the hands of invaders, will live in the remembrance of all who respect the freedom and independence of nations. I should have willingly endeavoured to assist in preserving this recollection, by inserting it in the Register; but its great length precludes the giving of it in detail, at least in one number.—I shall therefore, conclude this article with the introductory part of it, which will enable the reader, by a comparison with the outline of the new French Constitution already published, to determine which of them deserves the preference; and, if it is afterwards thought expedient, I shall give the concluding articles in subsequent numbers:—*The French Constitution; adopted by the Convention, August 22, 1795.*

New Declaration of the rights and duties of man, and of a citizen.—The French People proclaim, in the presence of the Supreme Being, the following declaration of the rights and duties of man, and of a citizen: **RIGHTS.**—I. The rights of man in society are—liberty, equality, security, property.—II. Liberty consists in the power of doing that which does not injure the rights of another.—III. Equality consists in this—that the law is the same for all, whether it protect or punish; Equality admits no distinction of birth, no hereditary power.—IV. Security results from the concurrence of all to secure the rights of each.—V. Property is the right of enjoying and disposing of a man's own goods, his revenues, the fruit of his labour, and his industry.—VI. The law is the general will expressed by the majority, either of the citizens, or of their representatives.—VII. That which is not forbidden by the law cannot be hindered.—No man can be constrained to that which the law ordains not.—VIII. No one can be cited, accused, arrested, or detained, but in the cases determined by the law, and according to the forms it has prescribed.—IX. Those who solicit, expedite, sign, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary acts, are culpable, and ought to be punished.—X. All rigour not necessary to secure the person of a man under charge, ought to be severely repressed by the law.—XI. No man can be judged until he has been heard, or legally summoned.—XII. The law ought not to decree any punishment but such as is strictly necessary, and proportioned to the offence.—XIII. All treatment that aggravates the punishment determined by the law is a

crime.—XIV. No law, criminal or civil, can have a retroactive effect.—XV. Every man may engage his time and his services; but he cannot sell himself or be sold: his person is not an alienable property.—XVI. All contribution is established for general utility: it ought to be assessed upon the contributors in proportion to their means.—XVII. The sovereignty resides essentially in the universality of citizens.—XVIII. No individual, and no partial union of citizens, can arrogate the sovereignty.—XIX. No man can, without a legal delegation, exercise any authority, nor fill any public function.—XX. Each citizen has an equal right to concur immediately or mediately in the formation of the law, the nomination of the representatives of the people, and the public functionaries.—XXI. Public functions cannot become the property of those who exercise them.—XXII. The social guarantee cannot exist, if the division of powers is not established, if their limits are not fixed, and if the responsibility of the public functionaries is not assured.—**DUTIES.** I. The declaration of rights contains the obligations of legislators: the maintenance of society demands that those who compose it should equally know, and fulfil their duties.—II. All the duties of man, and of a citizen, spring from these two principles, engraved by nature in every heart:—"Do not to another that which you would not another should do to you."—"Do constantly to others the good you would receive from them."—III. The obligations of every one in society consist in defending it, in serving it, in living obedient to the laws, and in respecting those who are the organs of them.—IV. No man is a good citizen, if he is not a good son, a good father, a good brother, a good friend, a good husband.—V. No man is a good man, if he is not frankly and religiously an observer of the laws.—VI. He who openly violates the laws, declares himself in a state of war with society.—VII. He who, without openly infringing the laws, eludes them by craft or by address, hurts the interests of all: he renders himself unworthy of their benevolence and of their esteem.—VIII. Upon the maintenance of property rest the cultivation of the earth, all produce, all means of labour, and all social order.—IX. Every citizen owes his service to his country, and to the maintenance of liberty, of equality, and of property, as often as the law calls upon him to defend them.

THE WHITE COCKADE.—The streets of London must, on Wednesday last, have appeared to a stranger quite cheerful; giving him, by the innumerable white cockades parading up and down, the idea of a great number of weddings, according to the good old English custom of servants wearing these favours, or emblems of joy on those occasions. But to the well informed and reflecting mind, it suggested very different ideas: every cockade he met, recalled to his memory the *eight hundred millions* it has cost the nation to restore the Bourbons; who may, perhaps, feel themselves highly affronted should we ever give them the least hint about the *expence*, and be apt to say, they have done us *great honour*, by submitting to accept our assistance to regain the crown of France; thereby plainly intimating, that we have done *less* for the sake of re-establishing the ancient dynasty, than for the purpose of making our own government *more secure*. Nay, it would not be at all extraordinary, if Louis XVIII. should insist upon the restitution of such French men of war, as were seized by us at the commencement of the revolution, under the pretence of keeping them for his family, should they afterwards regain the crown; or alledge, that we could have taken possession of the French West India islands with no other view, and, therefore, demand their restoration also.—However, if peace is to ensue, there will be no great harm in giving back to the Bourbons, the fleet and islands we took from their nation; for, I apprehend, we, good Englishmen, are to resume our old *natural enmity* to France;* and, however highly we may think of the royal race, we are still bound to consider the nation, excepting the *noblesse* and all the emigrants, what we used to consider them, frog-eaters and slaves. But, taking it in another point of view; in counting the vast number of white cockades that have made their appearance, we may give a pretty accurate guess at the *sums* expended in supporting the wearers of them, and think it a happy deliverance to the nation, that we shall no longer have to pay these hangers-on their respective pensions; at least, we may hope, that these will be put a stop to when the receivers of them ob-

* It is therefore proper they should again have a fleet to fight us as usual; and it is proper they should have West India islands, that we may seize upon them again if it were but to keep up our marine, and to accustom our hands to the noble trade of war.

tain permission to depart.—Like the children of Israel coming out of Egypt, none of these will go away empty handed: what they may have acquired by arts, and industry, or by favour, they will take with them. This, unquestionably, will be a real public loss. Bank notes will, no doubt, remain; but they will take with them gold and valuables. Of the amount we can form no just estimate. The French emigrants, French prisoners, and Englishmen who will emigrate, cannot however, be supposed to take less than what the law allows—namely—five guineas each person. This much then will add to the difficulty felt by the great scarcity of gold. Their departure will likewise thin the metropolis and the country of inhabitants; thus making room, before winter sets in, for the admission of an equal number of Hungarians, Prussians, Russians, and Cossacks, to the very great delight and satisfaction of our shop-keepers, inn-keepers, and farmers, as also of their charming wives and daughters.

COUNTER REVOLUTION IN FRANCE! Since the publication of last number of the Register, accounts have been received that the Senate has dissolved the Provisional Government, and that **MONSIEUR** has taken upon him the executive power until Louis the XVIII. arrives in his capital. Prior to the suspension of the Provisional Government, a decree was published, declaring the *white cockade* to be the "national cockade, and the only rallying sign of the French;" and another, liberating all prisoners in France belonging to the allied powers. On their dissolution they closed their labours, which had continued only about ten days, with the following address to the army:—"Soldiers, you no longer serve **NAPOLEON**, but you belong always to the country. Your first oath of fidelity was to it—that oath is irrevocable and sacred.—The new Constitution secures to you your honours, your ranks, and your pensions. The Senate and the Provisional Government have recognized your rights. They are confident that you will never forget your duties. From this moment your sufferings and your fatigues cease; but your glory remains entire. Peace will assure to you the reward of your labours.—What was your fate under the government which is now no more? Dragged from the banks of the Tagus to those of the Danube—from the Nile to the Dnieper—by turns scorched by the heat of the desert, or frozen by the cold of the North, you raised—*use*

lessly for France,—a monstrous greatness, the weight of which fell back upon you, as upon the rest of the world. So many thousand brave men have been but the instruments and the victims of a force without prudence, which wanted to found an empire without proportion. How many have died unknown to increase the renown of one man! They did not even enjoy that which was their due. Their families, at the end of a campaign, could not obtain the certainty of their glorious end, and do themselves honour by their deeds in arms. —All is changed; you will no more perish 500 leagues from your country for a cause which is not her's. Princes born Frenchmen will spare your blood, for their blood is yours. Their ancestors governed yours. Time perpetuated between them, and as a long inheritance of recollections, of interests and reciprocal services, this ancient race has produced Kings, who were named the fathers of the people. It gave us Henry IV. whom warriors still call the valiant King, and whom the country people will always call the good King. —It is to his descendants that your fate is confided. Can you entertain any alarm for it? They admired in a foreign land the prodigies of French valour; they admired while they lamented their return was delayed by many useless exploits. These Princes are at length in the midst of you; they have been unfortunate like Henry IV.; they will reign like him. They are not ignorant that the most distinguished portion of their great family, is that which compose the army; they will watch over their first children. —Remain then faithful to your standards. —Good cantonments shall be allotted to you. There are among you young warriors who are already veterans in glory; their wounds have doubled their age. These may, if they please, return and grow old in the places of their nativity with honourable rewards; the others will continue to follow the profession of arms, with all the hopes of advancement and stability which it can offer. —Soldiers of France! let French sentiments animate you—open your hearts to all family affections—keep your heroism for the defence of your country, not to invade foreign territories; keep your heroism, but let not ambition render it fatal to yourselves: let it no longer be a source of uneasiness to the rest of Europe."

In the *Moniteur* of the 14th inst. the following detail is given of what took place that day in the Senate:—"PARIS, APRIL

14.—Monsieur has received to-day, at eight in the evening, the Senate and the Legislative Body.—The Senate was presented to his Royal Highness by the Prince of Benevento, its President, who said — 'Monseigneur—The Senate brings to your Royal Highness the offer of its most respectful submission.—It has invited the return of your august House to the throne of France. Too well instructed by the present and the past, it desires, in common with the nation, for ever to found the Royal authority on a just division of power and on public liberty, which are the only securities of the happiness and liberty of all. —Monseigneur—the Senate, in the moments of public joy, obliged to remain apparently more calm in the limits of its duties, is not less a partaker in the universal sentiments of the people.—Your Royal Highness will read in our hearts, through the reserve of our language—each of us, as a Frenchman, has joined in those of feeling and profound emotions, which have accompanied you ever since your entrance into the capital of your ancestors, and which are still more lively under the roof of this palace, to which hope and joy are at length returned with a descendant of St. Louis and Henry IV.—For myself, my Lord, allow me to congratulate myself on being the organ of the Senate which has chosen me to be the interpreter of its sentiments to your Royal Highness. The Senate, knowing my attachment to its members, has been pleased to reserve for me a delightful and honourable moment. The most delightful, in fact, are those in which we approach your Royal Highness, to renew to you the expressions of our respect and our love."—The following is the decree of the Senate:—The Senate commits the Provisional Government of France to his Royal Highness the Count D'Artois, under the title of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, until Louis Stanislaus Xavier de France, called to the throne of the French, shall have accepted the Constitutional Charter. The Senate resolves, that the decree of this day, concerning the Provisional Government of France, shall be presented this evening by the Senate, in a body, to his Royal Highness the Count d'Artois.—The President and Secretaries, The Prince of BENEVENTO. Count De VALENCE. Count De PASTORET."—His Royal Highness answered—"Gentlemen—I have acquainted myself with the Constitutional Act, which recalls to the throne of France the King, my august bro-

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ther. I have not received from him the power to accept the Constitution; but I know his sentiments and his principles, and I do not fear to be disavowed by him, when I assure you, in his name, that he will admit the basis of it.—The King, in declaring that he would maintain the actual form of Government, has then acknowledged that the Monarchy ought to be balanced by a Representative Government, divided into two Houses. These two Houses (*Chambres*) are the Senate and the House of the Deputies of the Departments; that the taxes shall be freely granted by the Representatives of the Nation; public and private liberty secured; the freedom of the press respected, under the restrictions necessary for public order and tranquillity; the liberty of worship guaranteed; that property shall be inviolable and sacred; the ministers responsible, liable to be accused and prosecuted by the Representatives of the nation; that the judges shall be for life; the judicial power independent, no one being liable to be tried by any other than his natural judges; that the public debt shall be guaranteed; that pensions, dignities, military honours, shall be preserved, as well as the new and the ancient nobility; the legion of honour maintained, the King will fix its insignia; that every Frenchman shall be capable of military and civil employments; that no individual can be called to account for his opinions and his votes; and that the sale of national estates shall be irrevocable.—These, Gentlemen, are, it seems to me, the basis which are essential and necessary to ensure all rights, trace all duties, secure the continuation of all existing institutions, and guarantee our future situation.”—

After this discourse his Royal Highness added—“I thank you in the name of the King, my brother, for the share you have had in the return of our legitimate Sovereign, and for having thus secured the happiness of France, for which the King and all his family are ready to sacrifice their blood.—There can be no longer any difference of sentiments among us; we must no more recal the past; we must from henceforward be a nation of brothers. During the time that I shall have the power in my hands, which time I hope will be very short, I shall employ all my efforts in labouring for the public happiness”—One of the members of the Senate crying out, “He is a true descendant of Henry IV.”—“His blood,” said Monsieur, “really flows in my veins: I should wish to have

his talents, but I am sure of having his heart and love for the French.”—After the Senate, the members of the Legislative Body who were at Paris at the time of the happy event which restores us our King, and the deputies of the neighbouring departments, who have eagerly repaired to Paris, were admitted to an audience of his Royal Highness. Mr. Felix Faulcon, the Vice-President, spoke as follows,—“My Lord—The long misfortunes which have oppressed France, have at last reached their period; the throne will now again be filled with the descendants of that good Henry, whom the French people are proud and delighted to call their own; and the Legislative Body is happy in expressing this day to your Royal Highness, the joy and the hopes of the nation; the deep wounds of our country cannot be healed but by the tutelary concurrence of the will of all. NO MORE DIVISIONS, your Royal Highness has said, at the first step you took in this capital; it was worthy of your Highness to pronounce these sweet words, which have already re-echoed in every heart.”—Monsieur expressed his happiness at being in the midst of the Representatives of the French people. ‘We are all Frenchmen,’ said his Royal Highness; ‘we are all brothers. The King will soon arrive among us; his only happiness will be to secure the happiness of France, and to make its past misfortunes forgotten. Let us think only on the future. I congratulate you, Gentlemen of the Legislative Body, on your courageous resistance to tyranny, while there was great danger in it. At length we are all Frenchmen.’—The speech of his Royal Highness was followed by universal acclamations. The Deputies of the departments will relate to their fellow-citizens the lively impressions which they have experienced in addressing, for the first time, the wishes of France to a descendant of our Kings, in the Palace of Louis XIV.” After Monsieur had taken upon himself the exercise of the Royal Authority, the *Moniteur* of the 17th gives the following particulars “Paris, April 16.—Monsieur, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, has appointed the following persons to be members of the Provisional Council of State; Messieurs to Prince of Benevento, the Duke of Cornegiano, Marshal of France; the Duke of Reggio, ditto; the Duke of Dalberg; the Count de Jaucourt, Senator; General Count Bournonville, Senator; L’Abbe de Montesguion; General Dessolles—General Vitrolles, Provisional

Secretary of State, will perform the functions of Secretary to the Council.—The Members comprising the Sections of the Council of State, have had to day an audience of Monsieur.—Count Bergin addressed his Royal Highness as follows:—
 “My Lord—The Council of State is happy at seeing the return of your Royal Highness to the capital, and the palace of your ancestors.—At length the descendants of St. Louis and Henry IV. are restored to us. Our hearts belong to the King and his august family, and our thoughts, our zeal, our homage, are his due.—Our decrees, my Lord, are to be serviceable to the Sovereign and the country, to see the wounds of France healed, which is at last become the common country of its Monarch and his subjects, and to behold our august Monarch happy in the happiness of his people.” Monsieur was pleased to make a most gracious reply to this speech in which, among other expressions, he declared that he partook of the sentiments which the members of the Sections of the Council of State had just expressed to him, and that the King and his Royal Highness had never doubted of their attachment and their zeal for the service of the State.—
 On the same day, the following act of the government was announced:—“We, Charles Philip, of France, Son of France Monsieur, brother to the King, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, make known;—The circumstances which have passed, had made it requisite that we should give in the name of the King our august brother, commissions more or less extensive. Those who were charged with them have fulfilled them honourably; they all tended to the re-establishment of the monarchy, of order—and of peace.—This re-establishment is happily effected by the union of all hearts, all rights, all interests. The Government has assumed a regular course: all kinds of business must be henceforward done by the Magistrates, or others to whose departments they belong. The particular commissions are therefore become useless—they are revoked, and those who were invested, will abstain from making any further use of them.—Given and sealed at Paris, at the Palace of the Thuilleries, April 16.—(Signed)—CHARLES PHILIP. MONSIEUR,—Lieut. Gen. of the Kingdom.—The Provisional Secretary of State,—(Signed)—Baron VITROLLES.”

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.—If the following article, which appeared in the *Courier* of the 21st instant, is correct,

Bonaparte is not only to retain his title of Emperor, but, it would seem, that there has been some misunderstanding between the Allied Powers and us respecting the final arrangements with Napoleon.—“It is said, that on the 11th instant, the date assigned by the Paris Papers to BONAPARTE’S act of abdication, a treaty was actually signed between him and the Allied Powers, *England excepted*, by which he is to keep, notwithstanding his abdication, the title of Emperor.”—I am inclined to think there is some truth in this statement, which is only a repetition of what appeared a few days ago in a morning paper. Well, then, the Emperor Napoleon, as we are again permitted to call him, has at last set out for the island of Elba. The Empress, had an interview with her father at Little Triannon on the 16th, but whether she is, or is not, to accompany her husband in his exile, has not yet transpired. It is said that she is to retire to the Duchy of Parma, which she is to receive as a patrimony, and to which the young king is to succeed on her decease. But if, as I have been informed, she really entertains a *sincere attachment* for Napoleon, I do not suppose that any consideration will induce her to give him up.

OCCURRENCES OF THE WAR.—I did not expect to be again obliged to adopt this title; but some circumstances have occurred which still render it necessary. At Thoulouse and Bayonne several serious affairs have taken place between our troops and those under the command of Marshal Soult, and, although the official accounts have not arrived, the loss on both sides seems to have been very great. A good deal is said, in our newspapers, about these contests having been occasioned by treachery; but few or none of them are willing to admit, that the determined manner in which the French troops have so recently fought in this and other quarters, affords a proof that Napoleon might have succeeded in rallying another powerful army, and perhaps have overcome his opponents, had he not preferred the interests of France to the glory of continuing to reign over her, acquired at the expence of a civil war.

NOTICE.—Several Gentlemen having complained that they are not regularly served with the *Register*, the Public are again respectfully informed, that it is published every Saturday Morning at 10 o’clock, and that all unnecessary delay in the delivery, may, in future, be prevented, by ordering the *Register* from Mr. MORTON, the Publisher, No. 94, Strand.